

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9834
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 5832

EXDIS

MOSCOW ALSO FOR SENATOR MCGOVERN

EO 11652GDS
TAGS: US, UR, PL
SUBJ: SENATOR MCGOVERN'S MEETING WITH FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK,
11:00 A.M. - 12:30 P.M., AUGUST 18, 1977 -- U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

1. SUMMARY. THE MOST INTERESTING POINT TO EMERGE FROM SENATOR MCGOVERN'S MEETING WITH FIRST SECRETARY EDWARD GIEREK WAS GIEREK'S URGING THAT THERE BE A CARTER-BREZHNEV MEETING AND THAT THE SOONER THIS TOOK PLACE, THE BETTER IT WOULD BE (PARAS 14-19). CLAIMING A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH BREZHNEV, GIEREK OFFERED TO TRANSMIT TO BREZHNEV ANY "SUGGESTIONS" THE U.S. MIGHT WISH HIM TO MAKE. HE WILL HAVE ANOTHER LONG TALK WITH BREZHNEV DURING THE MOSCOW CELEBRATION OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION. GIEREK COMPLAINED ABOUT RFE BROADCASTS, WITHOUT SPECIFYING THEIR ORIGIN, AND ABOUT THE RECENT REPORT OF THE STAFF OF THE FASCELL COMMISSION. GIEREK WAS RELAXED, IN A GOOD HUMOR, AND EXUDED SELF-CONFIDENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME IN A SERIES OF MESSAGES COVERING SENATOR MCGOVERN'S NINETY-MINUTE MEETING AUGUST 18 WITH EDWARD GIEREK, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
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OF THE UNITED POLISH WORKERS' PARTY (PZPR). ALSO PRESENT WERE FOREIGN MINISTER EMIL WOJTASZEK, MYSELF, INTERPRETER HENRYK NIEDZIELSKI, AND A MEMBER OF GIEREK'S PRIVATE OFFICE. THE SENATOR LEFT WARSAW YESTERDAY AND HAS NOT CLEARED ANY OF THESE MESSAGES.

3. FOLLOWING THEIR EXTENDED DISCUSSION OF POLAND'S

NEED FOR ADDITIONAL US GRAIN AND FOODSTUFFS AND A BRIEF EXCHANGE ON THE POSSIBILITY OF POLAND'S JOINING THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (SEPTELS), THE SENATOR ASKED THE FIRST SECRETARY FOR HIS VIEWS ON THE CURRENT STATE OF DETENTE, THE MBFR AND SALT TALKS, AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN GENERAL. HE SAID THAT POLAND'S FRIENDS IN THE UNITED STATES HAD BEEN PLEASED TO LEARN OF THE AMNESTY ANNOUNCED BY THE POLISH GOVERNMENT LAST MONTH AND THE HUMANITARIAN APPROACH IT SIGNIFIED. THE SENATOR SAID THAT THE FIRST SECRETARY KNEW THE WEST AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, BUT THAT POLAND ALSO HAD A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE USSR. IT WOULD THEREFORE BE HELPFUL TO HEAR WHAT THE FIRST SECRETARY HAD TO SAY ABOUT THE ATTITUDE OF PEOPLE IN POLAND TOWARDS THE APPROACH OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT CARTER TO THESE EAST-WEST PROBLEMS.

4. GIEREK SAID THAT HE WANTED TO MAKE THIS PORTION OF HIS REMARKS OFF-THE-RECORD. HE EXPECTED THAT THE SENATOR WOULD REPORT TO PRESIDENT CARTER, BUT HE WAS NOT AUTHORIZED TO SAY WHAT HE WAS ABOUT TO SAY, SO HE HOPED THE SENATOR WOULD TREAT IT AS NOT FOR PUBLICATION. THE SENATOR AGREED.

5. GIEREK SAID THAT POLAND HAD A UNIQUE PLACE IN THE SOCIALIST CAMP, WHICH AROSE FROM SPECIFICALLY POLISH
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CHARACTERISTICS AND FROM THE DIFFERENT WAY IN WHICH POLAND, IN CONTRAST TO OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, APPLIED SOCIALIST CONCEPTS. BEYOND THAT, HE HIMSELF HAD A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH LEONID BREZHNEV. BREZHNEV AND HE SHARED "A COMMON VIEW OF THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD." HE HAD JUST HAD A MEETING WITH LEONID BREZHNEV (IE, AUGUST 2), WHICH HAD LASTED MANY, MANY HOURS, DURING WHICH THEY HAD DISCUSSED ALL POSSIBLE ISSUES, INCLUDING DETENTE AND SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

6. TO PUT IT IN A NUTSHELL, BREZHNEV IS DISTURBED ABOUT THE STATE OF THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE US TO DATE AND IS SIMULTANEOUSLY VERY CONCERNED. "HE TOLD ME SPECIFICALLY AND WITH GREAT EMPHASIS, 'WE WANT TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING, WE WANT TO COME TO TERMS, WITH THE UNITED STATES.'" GIEREK ADDED THAT THINGS MUST BE WORKED OUT IN THESE TALKS WITH THE UNITED STATES. GIEREK WENT ON TO SAY THAT BREZHNEV IS ALSO WORRIED ABOUT THE NEUTRON BOMB. BREZHNEV TOLD GIEREK THAT THE SOVIETS COULD ALSO PRODUCE A NEUTRON BOMB, BUT HAD ASKED WHY THEY SHOULD DO THIS. FIRST, THEY WOULD PRODUCE THE NEUTRON BOMB, THEN SOME OTHER KIND OF BOMB. WHY SHOULD THIS BE NECESSARY?

7. GIEREK'S PERSONAL CONCLUSION WAS THAT THE UNITED STATES, PRESIDENT CARTER, SECRETARY VANCE, SHOULD MAKE AN APPROACH TO THE SOVIETS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, PRESENTING CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSITIONS ABOUT WHICH THEY COULD TALK. GIEREK SAID HE WAS SURE THAT SUCH A US APPROACH WOULD GET A FRIENDLY RECEPTION FROM THE SOVIET SIDE.

8. NOW, WITH REGARD TO HUMAN RIGHTS -- FOR THE USSR, THIS IS A DETAIL "WE DIDN'T TOUCH ON THIS, WHEN I SPOKE WITH BREZHNEV. IT IS NOT A PROBLEM FOR US" (IE, FOR US POLES). IT IS RIGHT TO RAISE THE PROBLEM OF HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT NOT TO RAISE JUST ONE FRAGMENT OF IT. HE, GIEREK, HAD TALKED ABOUT THIS ASPECT OF THE HUMAN-CONFIDENTIAL

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RIGHTS DISCUSSION IN HIS SPEECH AT THE POLISH PARLIAMENT (SEJM; JUNE 30). THE WHOLE PROBLEM MUST BE DISCUSSED, NOT JUST ONE ISOLATED ASPECT OF IT.

9. GIEREK SAID, "IF YOU THINK YOU ARE HELPING THE POLISH PEOPLE BY INSTIGATING SOME PEOPLE IN POLAND TO ACT AGAINST THE PREVAILING SYSTEM OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION, YOU ARE VERY WRONG." GIEREK SAID HE DID NOT THINK THAT PRESIDENT CARTER INTENDED TO DO THIS, BUT THERE APPEARED TO BE SOME PEOPLE WHO HAD THIS IN MIND.

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FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 5832

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MOSCOW ALSO FOR SENATOR MCGOVERN

10. YOU SHOULD HAVE QUITE THE CONTRARY AIM FROM THIS SORT OF EFFORT AT INSTIGATION, HE CONTINUED. IT WOULD BE IN YOUR INTEREST TO TRY TO INFLUENCE SOME OF THE OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TO ADOPT SOME OF THE FORMS OF APPLICATION OF SOCIALIST PRECEPTS WHICH HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED IN POLAND. A KEEN OBSERVER OF POLISH DEVELOPMENTS SHOULD REALIZE THAT THE FORMS DEVELOPED IN POLAND SHOULD BE FURTHER PERFECTED AND SUPPORT SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THIS. POLAND HAS DEVELOPED AN EXCEPTIONAL POSITION AND WE ARE TRYING TO USE THAT POSITION TO INFLUENCE THE SITUATION IN SUCH A WAY AS TO HELP BRING THE TWO SYSTEMS -- THAT OF THE EAST AND THAT OF THE WEST -- TOGETHER.

11. I HAVE TOLD YOU MY PERSONAL CREDO, SAID GIEREK; IT IS THE CREDO OF ALL SENSIBLE POLES.

12. GIEREK THEN TURNED TO THE LATEST REPORT OF THE STAFF OF THE EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. THIS REPORT, HE SAID, CONTENDED THAT THERE WAS NO FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN POLAND. THIS CONTENTION MUST HAVE GIVEN A GOOD LAUGH
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TO CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI, WHO HAD JUST DELIVERED A SERMON AT CZESTOCHOWA, IN WHICH HE TALKED ABOUT THE GOOD CONDITIONS FOR SPREADING RELIGION IN POLAND. ALSO, THE REPORT CONTENDED THAT THERE WERE BETWEEN 5000,000 AND A MILLION GERMANS IN POLAND. IN FACLVN SAID GIEREK, WE'RE HAVING TROUBLE CARRYING OUT THE SCHMIDT-GIEREK AGREEMENT, BECAUSE WE CAN'T FIND ENOUGH PEOPLE WHO CONSIDER THEMSELVES GERMANS TO FILL THE QUOTA PROVIDED IN THAT AGREEMENT FOR REPATRIATION TO WEST GERMANY. WITH REGARD TO THE ATTITUDES OF PEOPLE IN POLAND TOWARDS RELATIONS WITH GERMANY, IS IS A SHAME THAT THE AUTHORS OF THIS REPORT HAD NOT ASKED DR. ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI TO TAKE A HAND AND SAY SOMETHING ON THIS SUBJECT -- HE KNOWS IT VERY WELL AND HIS POLISH BLOOD WOULD TELL HIM WHAT TO SAY.

13. GIEREK SAID HE HAD TOLD THE SENATOR SOME THINGS HE HAD NOT BEEN AUTHORIZED TO SAY. IF THE SENATOR, OR THOSE WITH WHOM HE DISCUSSED WHAT GIEREK HAD SAID, THOUGHT THE POLISH LEADERSHIP COULD HELP IN QUESTIONS OF DETENTE, THE POLES WERE READY. FOR EXAMPLE, GIEREK WOULD BE IN MOSCOW EARLY IN NOVEMBER FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVO-

LUTION AND WOULD AGAIN HAVE A LONG TALK WITH LEONID BREZHNEV. "IF YOU HAVE SOME SUGGESTIONS, PLEASE LET ME KNOW. I DON'T WANT POLAND TO BECOME A MEDIATOR, BUT I COULD TRANSMIT SOME SUGGESTIONS."

14. SENATOR MCGOVERN SAID THAT GIEREK HAD MENTIONED BREZHNEV'S DESIRE TO COME TO TERMS WITH THE UNITED STATE. THERE WAS NO DOUBT ABOUT PRESIDENT CARTER'S DESIRE TO COME TO TERMS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. WOULD IT NOT BE GOOD FOR CARTER AND BREZHNEV TO TALK TOGETHER?

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15. GIEREK IMMEDIATELY SAID, "YES. THE SOONER, THE BETTER."

16. THE SENATOR ASKED WHETHER GIEREK THOUGHT BREZHNEK WOULD AGREE TO SUCH A MEETING.

17. GIEREK IMMEDIATELY SAID, "YES." HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT, OF COURSE, SUCH A MEETING COULD NOT TAKE PLACE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL SYSPICION. ILLUSTRATING THE POINT BY MOVING CUPS AND GLASSES AROUND THE TABLE, GIEREK, "PUT THE MARGINAL THINGS TO ONE SIDE AND LOOK AT THE GOAL; THEN YOU WILL SEE HOW YOU MUST PROCEED IN ORDER TO REACH THAT GOAL."

18. SENATOR MCGOVERN SAID HE WAS ASKING GIEREK THIS, BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT HAD EXPRESSED A DESIRE TO HAVE A MEETING.

19. GIEREK SAID THAT THE WAY TO ARRANGE A MEETING WAS NOT TO TALK PUBLICLY ABOUT A DESIRE FOR A MEETING BUT TO ENTER UPON THE TECHNICAL TALKS THAT WERE REQUIRED TO LEAD TO SUCH A MEETING.

20. THE SENATOR SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD NOT DECIDED TO DEPLOY THE NEUTRON BOMB.

21. GIEREK SAID, "PLEASE TELL HIM ONE MORE THING: THE UNITED STATES WILL ONLY LOSE IF IT MANUFACTURES THE NEUTRON BOMB."

22. THERE ENSUED A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE DIVIDED-FAMILIES ISSUE (SEPTEL). FOLLOWING THIS, SENATOR MCGOVERN SAID HE HAD A PERSONAL FAVOR TO ASK THE SECRETARY. WHILE HE WAS IN THE SOVIET UNION, HE WANTED TO HAVE A MEETING WITH MR. BREZHNEV. THE SENATOR ASKED
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GIEREK IF, IN VIEW OF HIS CLOSE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH BREZHNEV, HE WOULD ASK BREZHNEV TO RECEIVE HIM.

23. GIEREK SAID, "YES."

24. GIEREK SAID THAT THE POLISH ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES WAS SUFFICIENTLY EXPRESSED IN POLAISH ACTIONS. RELATIONS WERE GOOD; THEY HAD NEVER BEEN BETTER, AND THE POLES WANTED TO CONTINUE TO IMPROVE THEM. IT WAS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF EITHE PARTNER TO AGGRAVATE THOSE RELATIONS. OCCASIONALLY, THE UNITED STATES BIT POLAND; THEN, POLAND HAD TO BARK LOUDLY AT THE UNITED STATES. WELL, THAT HAPPENED. IT WOULD, HOWEVER, BE BETTER IF THERE WERE NO BITING AND NO BARKING.

25. THE MEETING CLOSED WITH EXPRESSION OF GRATIFICATION ON BOTH SIDES.

26. FOR MOSCOW: I TOLD SENATOR MCGOVERN I WOULD SEND COPIES OF MESSAGES ON HIS MEETING TO LENINGRAD OR MOSCOW. IN VIEW OF SOME OF THE SENSITIVE POINTS IN THIS MESSAGE, I AM SENDING THEM ALL TO MOSCOW. I LEAVE IT TO YOU TO DECIDE WHETHER YOU WANT TO ASK JOE NEUBERT TO INFORM HIM THAT YOU HAVE THEM AND THAT THEY WILL BE AVAIABLE WHEN HE REACHES MOSCOW AUGUST 25.
DAVIES

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